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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the findings of a study which analyzed both the content and form of thirty-two recommended children's novels written about the American Revolution. The novels studied were published between 1899 and 1976. The analysis of content reconstructed the historiographic conception of the Revolution which is embedded in the various novels. The second part of the analysis--that of the form or narrative structure--attempts to see the changes found in children's Revolutionary War fiction in light of the changing socio-historical milieu. The content analysis revealed that the overwhelming majority of the books legitimate a view of the Revolution which virtually ignores the complex debate which has raged among historians since the time of the Revolution itself. The books ignore the most recent research on the Revolution and present it as a "white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant pageant." The central concern of all the novels is the manner in which the hero or heroine becomes involved with, and contributes to, the Revolution. Weak, dependent protagonists are transformed into stronger more independent adults as a result of their involvement in the war. With regard to the analysis of form, the evidence shows that novels published during two time periods (1959-1961, 1967-1976) are marked by a steady decline in the role which values play in determining the reasons why characters act as they do in regards to the Revolution. This decline in the importance of values also coincides with the fracture of the family and family relationships. The evidence also shows that, while passage to adulthood is still the central concern of these latter day novels, there is now a preoccupation with each individual's perception of reality and a rejection of the notion that the initiates must accept the dictates of their elders. (Author/RM)

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IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN CHILDREN'S FICTION

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> It is fair to say that the vast majority of Americans have no doubts about the rightness of colonists' break with England. The phrase "the American Revolution" causes a certain glow even in the most entrenched conservatives, who would never revolt against anybody except a new revolutionary and who, in the Revolutionary War, would most probably have been on the Loyalists' side. This is because Americans are taught a very simple view of their revolution -- that it was a straightforward crusade against a tyrannical Parliament and a hysterical king an ocean away. Of course, no revolution was ever so simple, certainly not this one. But patriotism, a bad historian, writes the most beguiling history, since it always offers a flattering explanation of a complicated story and satisfies our unsatiable hunger for good guys and bad guys. (Cooke, 1973, p. 93)

Background

In recent years it has been asserted that an implicit function of schooling is the transmission of the knowledge, value systems and personality characteristics essential for the reproduction of the social order. Bowles and Gintis (1976), for example, claimed that the attitudes and dispositions taught by the social relations of the school (i.e., the hidden curriculum) correspond to those "required" by the social relations of production. While this thesis was a significant contribution to attempts to conceptualize the role played by schools in an advanced industrial society, it has been criticized for presenting us with little more than a "black box" view of schooling. That is, Bowles and Gintis offered little substantive discussion of how the reproduction they sought to describe is effectuated in the day-to-day interactions occurring in schools.[1] Furthermore, Bowles and Gintis' discussion omitted any reference to the possible role which the formal corpus of school knowledge -- the knowledge contained in tradebooks, textbooks, films, etc., used in classrooms -- might play in the reproductive process.

A significant body of research did, however, amassed in the past few years which was vitally concerned with exploring the relationship between

the manner in which knowledge is selected, structured and transmitted by schools and the principles of social and economic control in a society. The work of Apple (1979a), Bernstein (1977), Bourdieu (1971a, 1971b, 1971c), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Williams (1961) and Young (1971a, 1971b) indicated that schools do not simply distribute neutral sets of facts and information. Instead, these authors pointed out that the knowledge disseminated by schools is a highly selective representation of the totality of available knowledge, and as Williams' (1961) noted, "what has been thought of as a simple distribution is in fact an active shaping to particular social ends" (p. 145).[2]

According to this line of argument, this "active shaping" both reflects the wider society and contributes to its ongoing reproduction. Williams (1976) suggested that this active shaping is accomplished by means of a selective tradition, "the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, and certain other meanings and practices are excluded" (p. 205). The concept of selective tradition when combined with Young's (1971b) principle that those persons wielding the greatest power in a society will seek to define and determine the accessibility of knowledge (p. 32) sheds considerable light on the relationship between the relative powerlessness of Blacks, Native Americans, women and working class groups in society and the historic exclusion and distortion of the history and culture of these groups in curricular materials. Indeed, numerous content analyses of textbook[3] and tradebook[4] materials have consistently shown that fundamental aspects of the historical experience of these groups have, up until this time, been diluted or selectively omitted[5] from the historical record. As a result, it often appears that Blacks, Native Americans, women and the laboring classes played little, if any, role in either the settling or the building of Amercia, or

in the defining and articulation of an American culture. Thus, an important conclusion to be drawn when views the findings of the many content analyses within the theoretical perspectives outlined by Apple, Bourdieu and Williams is that culture and power are related to each other in the most basic and fundamental sense. That is, a group which lacks social and economic power will also tend to lack the ability to define its knowledge, history and culture as legitimate and thus worthy of study (or inclusion in tradebooks and textbooks). Culture and power are, as Apple (1979a) has stated, "attributes of existing economic relations in society...which are dialectically interwoven so that economic power and control is interconnected with cultural power and control" (p. 64).

A problem with the preponderant majority of these content analyses is that their authors failed to ground their findings within a theoretical framework that did more than suggest textbooks and literature mirror or reflects society, a statement which is overly superficial and often erroneous. A recent study by Anyon (1979)--as well as research compiled by Young and Whitty (1976, 1977)--did, however, utilize a theoretical framework similar to the one advanced above when it argued that the "school curriculum has contributed to the formation of atitudes that make it easier for powerful groups to manage and control society" (p. 382). Anyon's work, therefore, represented in important advance in research into the content of school curricula.

An additional problem with virtually all of the research on school curricula, and one common even in work as theoretically informed as that of Anyon , is that they are limited to the analysis of content. By devoting almost exclusive attention to the content of curricular materials, researchers have ignored the crucial ideological functions played by the "forms" in which these materials are manifest (Apple 1978). The importance of giving

consideration to the form of literary materials was noted by the distinguished literary critic and historian Georg Lukacs when he observed that "the true bearers of ideology...are the very forms, rather than the abstractable content of the work itself" (Lukacs quoted by Eagleton, 1976, p. 24). Thus, those hoping to contribute to what has come to be termed the sociology of school knowledge--an area of investigation seeking clarification of the role of schools and the knowledge they distribute in the cultural reproduction of the social order--must not only be theoretically grounded but must also consider the nature and characteristics of the form as well as the content of curricular materials.

The remainder of this paper will report the findings of a study (Taxel, 1980) which analyzed both the form and content of thirty-two recommended children's novels (Appendix A) written about the American Revolution and published between 1899 and 1976. The analysis of content reconstructed the historiographic conception of the Revolution which is embedded in the various novels. This part of the analysis assumed that each author, either consciously or unconsciously, imbued their novel with a definite conception of the nature and causes of the Revolution which was amenable to analysis. The rich, and varied debate amongst professional historians about the Revolution was utilized as a reference point to judge kinds of explanations presented in fictionalized accounts of the Revolution written for children.

The second part of the analysis--that of the form, or narrative structure, of the novels--was modeled after Kelly's (1970, 1974) important study of nineteenth century children's periodical fiction and Wright's (1975) structural analysis of Western films. Both Kelly and Wright were concerned with uncovering the ideological messages and commitments contained in the

the structure of these disparate forms of narrative. Wright's analysis was of particular significance because he attempted to see the changing nature of the structure of the Western in terms of the evolving social and historical setting in which the various film makers worked. An important part of the discussion which follows, therefore, attempts to see the changes found in children's Revolutionary War fiction in light of this changing socio-historical milieu.

The Depiction of the American Revolution in Children's Fiction

The content analysis revealed that the overwhelming majority of books legitimate a view of the Revolution which virtually ignores the complex debate which has raged among historians since the time of the Revolution itself. This finding is consistent with Seller and Trusz's (1976) finding that textbooks continue to ignore the most recent research on the Revolution and present it as a "white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant pageant" (p. 539). The fictionalized conception of the Revolution is consistent with the conservative, largely discredited one propounded by the "Whig" historians who envisioned the Revolution as a divinely inspired struggle for independence from Britain and the defense of political rights and liberties.[6] While the more contemporary novels draw on the "Consensus" interpretation--a more refined, less pedantic descendent of the Whig interpretation--it is still the case that both of these interpretations of the Revolution omit reference to the "Progressive" and "Revisionist" historians' concern about internal aspects of the Revolution. Unlike the Whig and Consensus historians, who saw an essential unanimity of purpose informing the actions of the colonial populous, the Progressive and Revisionist historians saw the question of home rule (i.e., independence from Britain) as but the first issue in the Revolutionary agenda. They were also

vitally interested in the question of "who should rule at home." That is, the Progressive and Revisionist historians were deeply concerned about the impact of the Revolution on the various groups and who comprised colonial society and they therefore focused attention on such questions as class conflict and the role of women and Blacks in the Revolution. These matters are rarely discussed in the children's books[7] and with the exception of Edwards' When the World's On Fire (1973), the novels present the Revolution from the perspective of the White, middle and upper classes. Edwards' book is also the only one to have a Black protagonist and the only one to forthrightly discuss what Edmund Morgan (1976) termed the "central paradox of American history"--the fact that the movement for American liberty and independence occurred at the very time the chattel slavery was being institutionalized in many colonies.

The precise nature of the fictionalized conception of the American Revolution to be found in children's literature can best be understood by looking briefly at some representative examples of the kinds of interpretations to be found at various junctures throughout the sample. The first two periods[8] into which the sample was divided (1899-1930; 1937-1953), for example, are dominated by the highly rhetorical, readily caricatured Whig interpretation. Many of these novels therefore present the Revolution as a struggle waged by a valiant group of American colonists engaged in a life and death struggle against a tyrannical king bent on the destruction of their long cherished rights, liberties and freedoms. Thus, Reba Stanhope, the archetypal heroine of Crownfield's, Freedom's Daughter (1930) speaks repeatedly of the need to risk war to gain independence for her "oppressed land" and of the colonists' determination "to resist further oppression" (pp. 10, 19). The essence of Crownfield's conception of the Revolution is voiced by Gilbert

Westwood, the novel's male hero, as he ponders his, and Reba's, recent excommunication from the Quaker church because of their outspoken advocacy of the American cause:

> I know what my lot must be . . . I would not choose it, were the cause less just, less noble than it is, but what right have I, or anyone . . . to dwell secure and protected, while others struggle and jeopardize their lives and all they own to preserve us as well as themselves from sinful oppression and wicked tyranny that violate the God given right of human kind? (p. 30)

The explicit equation of British violation of colonial rights with tyranny and the belief that such actions were the cause of the conflict are themes which recur repeatedly in books written Periods I and II. In the Green Cockade, (Allen, 1942) an outraged Squire Stonebridge, after noting his life-long loyalty to the King fervently declares that if "the King refuses to recognize our rights, if he becomes a tyrant, I cease to be loyal (p. 25). The King is also accused of denying the colonists "the God-given right to make [their] own laws (p. 26). In the face of these provocations the Squire declares his willingness to choose "actual warfare in preference to actual slavery" (p. 57).

Esther Forbes', Johnny Tremain (1943) is undoubtably the best known book in the sample and was recently said to encapsulate the dominant view of our Revolution in American popular culture (Kammen, 1978, p. 206). Compared to many of the other works in the sample, Johnny Tremain contains rather extensive discussion of the issues surrounding the Revolution. The conception of the Revolution contained in this book is that of an ideologically motivated struggle which Collier (1976) described as "pure nineteenth century Bancroft" (p. 137), a reference to George Bancroft who was the dean of the Whig historians. Forbes' vision of the Revolution is best summarized by James Otis during a climactic meeting of the Sons of Liberty which appears in a chapter significantly entitled, "A World to Come"--a title reflective

of the Whig notion of the epochal, millenial nature of the Revolution. To Otis, the Revolution was being fought:

> For men and women and children all over the world. . .for rights such as they will be enjoying a hundred years from now.
>
> There shall be no more tyranny. A handful of men cannot seize power over thousands. A man shall choose who it is to rule over him.
>
> The peasants of France, the serfs of Russia. Hardly more than animals now. But because we fight, they shall see freedom like a new sun rising in the west. Those natural rights God has given to every man, no matter how humble.
>
> So we hold up our torch--and do not forget it was lighted upon the fires of England--and we will set it as a new sun to lighten a world.
>
> We give all we have, lives, property, safety, skills . . . we fight, we die for a simple thing. Only that a man can stand up. (pp. 189-90, 192).

Johnny Tremain contains the most literate, articulate and passionate evocation of the Whig interpretation of the Revolution to be found in the entire sample. Its themes are reiterated time and again by authors who wrote during Periods I and II and especially during the era when European fascism posed so ominous a threat to the freedoms and liberties of the entire globe. The post-war period witnessed a transference of the Americans' fears and insecurities from the Fascists to the Russian communists. The effect of these two distinct threats is, however, indistinguishable as authors writing both during the war and in its immediate aftermath[9] continued to focus on the image of the Revolution as a war waged for abstract principle and to deny any materialistic basis for the struggle.[10] Bill Barlow, the hero of Allen's Battle Lanterns (1949), for example, offers the following explanation of why the Americans so doggedly persist in the fact of the overwhelming superior British forces:

> Money was a mean cheap thing . . . It was not what these men were fighting for. They were giving their lives for something that could not be wrapped up in a purse. It had neither weight nor shape, it was invisible, yet it burned forever before their eyes like a torch. It was the finest thing in the world . . . Liberty! (p. 28)

This explicit disavowal of any materialistic motivation on the part of those who champion the American cause assumes even greater significance when one considers the manner in which authors define the qualities of the heroes and heroines who populate the novels. Determination of the nature and characteristics of characters constituted an important aspect of the analysis of the form or narrative structure of the novels. Because the study under review found that changes in the image or conception of the Revolution (i.e., novel content) embedded in the novels were accompanied by changes in their form, it is necessary to consider the nature of novel form before turning to the image of the Revolution contained in the more contemporary novels.

Good and Bad in Periods I and II

Following the methodology utilized by Wright (1975) in his study of Western films, the characters in the novels were analyzed in terms of a series of binary oppositions.[11] Oppositions create an image of social types which reflect how a society classifies people. This method enables the researcher to uncover the conceptual reference inherent in a structure, be it a film or a novel. By analyzing how characters are defined by such oppositions as "good" vs. "bad" and "strong" vs. "weak" it is possible to ascertain both the meaning of the characters and the social basis of their characteristics.

The second part of the analysis of form was also modeled after that of Wright.[12] It consisted of the attempt to reduce the narrative structure of the novels--the progression of events and the resolution of conflicts--to a set of functions which describe the actions of the characters over the course of the novel (or film). In defining both the meaning of a set of characters (the oppositions) and their actions (the functions) it is possible to show how the narrative constitutes a model of social action.

The configuration which dominates the books written during Periods I and II finds a good, relatively weak and dependent protagonist living within the confines of a home dominated by a strong male, usually a father or uncle who is good, strong and has the unquestioned loyalty and respect of the protagonist. This initial, youthful weakness and dependence of the protagonists is a defining characterist of the genre in that the action of virtually every novel results in the transformation of this character and their growth to stronger, more independent individuals. The basis of a character's goodness or badness is also of fundamental importance and is invariably concerned with an individuals political affiliation and especially their reasons for choosing sides in the Revolution. Thus, in the novels written during Periods I and II, goodness is a function not only of a character's intrinsic qualities as a person (i.e., their "niceness") but also their motivation for becoming either a Patriot or a Tory.

Reba Stanhope of Freedom's Daughter (Crownfield, 1930), for example, is typical of the kinds of characters who dominate these early novels. The daughter of a "fighting Quaker who had come out unqualifiedly for freedom," Reba is herself sworn "to strive with all her might" to work for whatever "brings true freedom to [her country]" (pp. 13, 129). Reba works tirelessly for the cause and speaks in terms of the sacrifices she willingly makes upon the "alter of freedom." The novel is, in fact, a chronicle of the heroism and sacrifice Reba, and Gilbert Westwood, make for the "life and death struggle for high principle" (p. 66). Thus, an essential component of Reba and Gil's goodness is their idealism, a quality to be found in many of the other Period I and II heroes and heroines.[13]

While characters like Reba and Gil are discernable in and of themselves, their essential qualities are made all the more apparent by their being

contrasted to characters possessing the opposite characteristics. Reba and Gil, for example, present a striking contrast to Richard Skinner, a man with a "cold and selfish nature" (p. 77) who hides his activities for the Crown behind a pretense of neutrality and adherence to the tenents of the Quaker faith. Caring for neither the Tory or Whig side but convinced that the Crown would prevail, this "ambitious and unscrupulous man" is "determined to wrest every iota from his country's crisis that it could be made to yield" (p. 35). Richard Skinner is evil, therefore, not simply because he sides with the British, but rather because he does so for materialistic reasons, a fact made clear by the character of Henry Skinner, Richard's father. Henry is also a Tory but he is depicted as good because his allegiance to the Crown stems from his loyalty to the King. Because the reason for a characters affiliation--e.g., idealism vs. materialism--constitute the key to their being defined as good or bad, many of the Period I and II books contain a configuration which finds good, idealistic Patriots being opposed by calculating, avaricious Tories.[14] The idealistic Tory, while not present in all of the novels, helps to bring the nature of good and evil into even sharper relief and to highlight the fact that good and evil in these earlier novels is almost always coded in economic terms, a finding in essential accord with that of Wright's analysis of the classical Western.[15]

The novels in Periods I and II, thus, make a sharp contrast between good and evil as characters take on their meaning on the basis of their motivation. The "idealistic/materialistic" refinement of the good/bad opposition functions to remove any possible ambiguity in the meaning of a character. Furthermore, this contrasting of good and evil characters also helps bring a particular perspective on the issues surrounding the Revolution into focus as a character's reasons for action provide a measure of insight into the nature of the con-

flict. It is interesting, though not surprising, to note that many of the books having the most clearly defined good and bad characters are those books which contain most extreme version of the Whig interpretation of the Revolution. This fact follows logically from the Whig conception of the Revolution as a great step forward in a millenial struggle for freedom, liberty and the rights of man. One does, in fact, find in the novels of this period champions of liberty such as Reba Stanhope, Gilbert Westwood, Rob Silesbee and Bill Barlow being driven by a fervent attachment to these high ideals. The real enemies of the cause are base and self-serving individuals like Richard Skinner, Mr. Graves and Lord Clowes[16] who seek only to advance their narrow self interest.[17]

This is not to suggest that books which embody the Whig view of the Revolution must have characters defined on the extremes of the good/bad opposition. It is simply to indicate that the relationship makes sense given the way this interpretation perceives the Revolution and the tendency of many authors of children's literature to simplify and reduce the complex for their youthful audience.[18] This latter point is especially true for the first two periods of the sample. By the mid-sixties, however, a movement within children's literature circles began to demand that greater realism be incorporated in books intended for the young. Although it is impossible to determine the precise impact which this insistence on greater realism had on the books under discussion, it is the case that those written during the final period of the sample (1967-1976) manifest a greater concern with the realistic portrayal of character, family relationships and the War itself. During this period the individual psyche of the protagonists is explored in a manner, and detail, rarely evidenced in earlier works. The same can be said of family relationships where one now finds signs of conflict and division which contrasts sharply

with the familial harmony which dominates books in the earlier phases. Given what has been said about the relation between novel content and form, it is not surprising that these changes in form are to be found in books which move away Whig interpretation. Before examining the changes in historical interpretation which underlie the more contemporary novels, and the impact which this altered preception of the Revolution has on the coding of the oppositions, it is first necessary to consider briefly how the actions, conflicts and events which comprise the novels are presented and structured.

The American Revolution as a Rite of Passage

The central concern of virtually all of the novels in the sample is the manner in which the hero or heroine becomes involved with, and contributes to, the Revolution. Regardless of the nature of this involvement, and the boys have quite different experiences in comparison to the girls, it always has a transforming effect on the character in question. In essence, the individual who is initially presented as weak and dependent is tested and toughened by experiences (i.e., a taste of battle for the boys, service as a spy for some of the girls) which constitute a "rite of passage" to the world of responsible adulthood.[19] This personalized rite of passage also provides the basis of the unity of novel content and form in that it serves as a metaphor for the experiences of the nation itself which is transformed, via the Revolution, from a state of weak, colonial dependence to independent nationhood. Use of this rite of passage motif also serves to reinforce the notion that the Revolution was exclusively concerned with the questions of independence and nationhood and not concerned with altering social relationships amongst the colonial population. Independence and nationhood are, as we have seen, central to the Whig interpretation of the Revolution, while internal matters such as the desire to change social relationship interested the

Progressive and Revisionists historians. Thus we see that novel form (i.e., the coding of the oppositions and the structuring of the novels themselves) and content (i.e., the conception of the Revolution) inform and interpenetrate in a way which reinforces a particular perspective on the Revolution as an historical event, a perspective which is--as we shall see--not ideologically neutral.

While the rite of passage motif is present in the overwhelming majority of novels in the sample,[20] it was not reducible to the kinds of specific functions Wright found in Western films. This is so even though the authors repeatedly utilize narrative devices such as having the protagonist endure a period of separation from his, or her family; a taste of battle; a perilous journey etc. Despite these similarities, there is considerable variation in the way individual authors construct their narratives as well as two significant variations[21] in the rite of passage motif. These variations do, however, fit comfortably within the pattern already described and are not nearly as dramatic as the changes Wright documented in the structure of the Western.

Periods III and IV: Some Signs of Change

In the books written during Periods III and IV we continue to find weak, dependent protagonists being transformed into stronger more independent adults as a result of their involvement in the Revolution. Other factors, however, have changed, and some in rather significant ways. To begin with, there is a noticeable absence of the venal, avaricious Tory whose "badness" was so important in defining the "goodness" of the idealistic Patriots. Goodness and badness are now primarily a function of niceness vs. nastiness as several books--e.g., Early Thunder (Fritz, 1967) and Redcoat in Boston (Finlayson, 1971)--contain Patriots who are "bad" because they are mean and brutish. On

the other hand the protagonists in My Brother Sam Is Dead (Collier and Collier, 1973), Who Comes to King's Mountain? (Beatty and Beatty, 1975) and Freelon Starbird (Snow, 1976) all explicitly reject Revolutionary ideology but are good essentially because they are kind, and decent. Contributing to this development is the fact that many of the father figures, who in earlier works provided the paradigm for strength and virtue, now appear as weak individuals. Some are even Tories. This change in the father figure is also accompanied by a breakdown in parental authority as sons begin to either disagree and, in some instances, defy their parents. This breakdown in family relations begins with the disagreement between Jonathan and Noel Venable in Caudill's, Tree of Freedom (1949) in Period II, continues into Period III with the split between John and Peter Treegate in Wibberly's John Treegates Musket (1959) and that between Moses and Adam Cooper in Fast's, April Morning (1961). Dissension and disagreement between fathers and sons does, in fact, become one of the most significant characteristics of several of the more important novels written in Period IV and presents a rather striking contrast to the stability and strength which characterizes these relationships in the novels written in Periods I and II.

Because the father is no longer always strong and good (e.g., an idealistic Patriot), commitment becomes a problem for several of the latter day heroes. Some are indecisive, they "sit on the fence," and agonize over whether to cast their lot with the Patriot or Loyalist factions. Several others are initially presented as being pro-British and are "converted" in the course of the novels. In spite of this problem of commitment, the last period is marked by a noticeable deemphasis in the importance which values and ideals play in generating action. Thus, while the heroes and heroines of earlier books are initially presented as being fervently attached to

Revolutionary ideology and desiring only to contribute to its advancement, their more contemporary counterparts often lack such commitment. Several even end up rejecting Revolutionary ideals, a development which would have been unthinkable in the moral universe of the novels written in Periods I and II.

Emphasis in the contemporary novels is instead placed on the personalized, often highly introspective experiences of the protagonists which often become a substitute for values and ideals as reasons for acting. Despite these important changes which, as we shall see, have some interesting parallels in Wright's Westerns, the fundamental outlines of the Revolution as a rite of passage remains in tact. Whether or not commitment is an issue, the protagonist's involvement with the Revolution continues to serve as a crucible in which the character is initiated into the adult world. In order for these important shifts in novel structure to be understood, however, it is first necessary to examine the changes in the presentation of the Revolution as an historical event.

The Revolution in Periods III and IV

We have seen that Periods I and II are marked by a conception of the Revolution which places great emphasis on the role played by ideas and ideology in generating opposition to British rule of the American colonies. King George's tyrannical attempts to limit long cherished rights and liberties are met with the almost unanimous opposition of the protagonists of these early novels who recognize that the King's policies constitute a grave threat to their way of life. Discussion of these matters is usually presented in a simplistic, superficial manner with heavy reliance on impassioned rhetoric and the repeated invocation of rarely defined slogans such as "freedom," "liberty" and "the rights of man." Another important characteristic of these

novels is the fact that many of these champions of liberty who wax so eloquently about freedom and the rights of man are themselves slaveholders. What is most striking--aside from the shockingly vulgar manner in which Black characters are stereotyped--is that the contradiction between their rhetoric and action is never perceived. Indeed, it is not until 1949 and the publication of Caudill's, Tree of Freedom that the issue is even mentioned. Thereafter Blacks effectively disappear from the novels as authors, with the exception of Sally Edwards (1973), seem either unwilling or unable to confront this central paradox of American history.

The novels in Period III (1959-1961) continue the essential outlines of the Whig interpretation although there is less of the overblown rhetoric so characteristic of the earlier novels. One book, Wibberley's, John Treegates Musket (1959) contains a fairly detailed discussion of the economic issues which contributed to the Revolution although it ultimately rests on a conception of the Revolution which stresses the fact that British policies have resulted in "the butchery of rights which seem...natural to every man" (p. 183).

Of the eight books written during Period IV (1967 to 1975) five embody the Consensus interpretation, although the extent to which issues are discussed vary considerably. Fritz's, Early Thunder (1967) and Finlayson's Redcoat in Boston (1971), for example, contain rather extensive discussion of issues in addition to manifesting the increased preoccupation with the psychological state of the protagonist alluded to previously. While this concern in some cases leads to a deemphasis given to discussion of issues involved in the conflict,[22] such discussion is central to these novels. Early Thunder and Redcoat in Boston are, in fact, examples of what is termed the "conversion variant" of the rite of passage motif, a name which is reflective of the fact

that their protagonists change allegiance in the course of the novel. Both novels see the Revolution as centrally concerned with political rights and liberties--consistent with the Consensus interpretation--but do not see the American side as having exclusive claim to virtue and decency. Because these books are more even handed in their presentation of the issues at hand, there is a noticeable absence of the sharply defined good/bad opposition present in the earlier novels. This is so because the protagonists themselves are, at first, actively Pro-British necessitating a more even handed approach to the depiction of that side and its beliefs. Daniel West, the protagonist of Early Thunder, for example, is a staunch Tory at the outset of the novel and detests the vulgar pranks and antics of the "Liberty Boys." Daniel is converted, and passes into adulthood in the process, when he is able to understand that colonial resistence to the Crown was, despite the excesses of the Liberty Boys, primarily about "recovering our just rights and liberties" (p. 72).

Dr. West, Daniel's father, is also a Tory but takes this stance out of convenience rather than from a firm conviction in the justice of the King's rule, something which characterized the "good" Tories of the early novels. This fact, plus Dr. West's weak and indecisive nature, continues a trend which appeared first in John Treegate's Musket.[23] This trend finds a decline in the strength and virtue of the here-to-fore all powerful father figures. Furthermore, Daniel and his father, are divided by personal as well as political issues, an important new development.[24] This breakdown in the relations between father and son is continued in novels such as My Brother Sam Is Dead, Who Comes to King's Mountain? and Freelon Starbird present a striking contrast to the remarkable strength and stability of the households of earlier novels. The significance of this development will be considered in the concluding

section of this paper when the discussion turns to the social sources of the changes found in this sample of children's fictions.

One of the most significant changes in the treatment of the Revolution documented in the study under discussion is the extent to which the values and ideas which the heroes and heroines of the earlier novels so willingly risked life and limb to advance, no longer prove sufficient to motivate several of the more contemporary protagonists to act. Tim Meeker, the protagonist in My Brother Sam Is Dead, for example, agonizes over whether to cast his lot with the Patriot or Loyalist factions engaged in bitter, often violent confrontation in the Connecticut community in which the novel is set. After suffering the loss of both his father and brother--the later is executed by his own army (the American) for a crime he did not commit, while the former dies while held captive on a British prisonship--Tim rejects both sides viewing them as self-serving and hypocritical. Tim's rejection of the ideology of the Revolution, his inability to "get off the fence" and his decision to sit out the war, are nothing short of astounding given the extent to which Revolutionary ideas and ideology are exalted in earlier works. While the Collier's view of the Revolution probably says as much about their attitude toward war as a mode of social action--My Brother Sam Is Dead is above all an anti-war novel--as it does the Revolution, it is the case that several other novels written during this final phase of the sample manifest a similar decline in the extent to which Revolutionary ideology serves to motivate the actions of the protagonists.

While Alec MacLeod in Who Comes to King's Mountain? does finally join the American army, his decision--unlike Daniel West's--is not the result of any newly discovered appreciation of the important principles which that side championed. Alec's decision is instead an outgrowth of some painful personal

experiences with Tory and British brutality but most of all his devotion to Francis Marion, whose personal qualities prove decisive in Alec's decision to come "off the fence." Interestingly, Marion also plays an important role in the fate of one of the earlier protagonists, Bill Barlow of Battle Lanterns. While the "Swamp Fox" is depicted as a man of great strength and heroism in both novels, the ultimate basis of his appeal to the protagonists of the respective novels provides some measure of the extent to which values and ideology have declined as instigators of a character's actions.

To Bill Barlow, Frances Marion represents "the symbol of his nation's righteous fight for liberty" (Allen, 1949, p. 34). However, while Bill is also awed by Marion's qualities as a man--"the epitome of all that was fine in a man" (p. 34)--it is clearly his stature as a leader in the struggle for the just that commands his respect. In contrast, it is Marion's kindness, compassion and understanding which are the basis of his appeal to Alec. Alec's decision to serve is thus based on "'reasons of affection'--not so much out of approval for the Patriot cause" (Beatty and Beatty, 1975, p. 166). Alec's decision to become a Patriot is, thus, not based on his assessment of Whig ideology--the novel contains but a single reference to "the cause of liberty" (p. 166)--but is instead a function of the charismatic character of Francis Marion.

In Richard Snow's Freelon Starbird (1976), the denigration of Revolutionary ideas, ideology, and the Whig conception of the Revolution itself, becomes the central focus of the only novel in the sample published in the Bicentennial year. This intention is made apparent on the very first page of the novel as Freelon's first person, retrospective account of his involvement in the Revolution begins with a statement of his desire to put to rest:

> brave and nonsensical stories about the American colonies. Thirteen Sisters by the Sea, who slumbered awhile in Liberty's cradle until with fierce and common purpose they rose and girded on armor against

> the Thunderbolts of British tyranny. Men left the plow in the field and the shop unattended, banded together and, when the hirelings of King George came against them, they knelt behind walls and fences and gave them a fine drubbing, as God himself had ordained. (pp. 1-2)

The rest of this novel is a non-too-subtle demonstration of how lacking in glory and indeed bitter way can do. Freelon is, in fact, the very antithesis of the noble heroes and heroines of earlier novels, something made clear by the fact that Freelon awakens from a night of drunken debauching to learn that he had unwittingly enlisted in the Continental army. Indeed, the only time he invokes the slogans which characterize the speech of earlier heroes and heroines is when he attempts to impress the lovely Polly Lycott. Even here, the tone is mocking and derisive and Freelon's flirtation with Thomas Paine's ideas, for example, ends quickly when they fail to win Polly's affections. The other characters on this final novel of the sample speak without a trace of the fervor which animated our previous heroes and heroines. The only character who does, in fact, speak in a manner of Bill Barlow and Reba Stanhope is Lt. Godkin and he is presented as a somewhat ludicrious caricature--the butt of jokes and scorn because of his constant mouthing of "patriotic clap-trap" (p. 113).

While novels such as Early Thunder, Redcoat in Boston, My Brother Sam Is Dead, Who Comes to King's Mountain? and Freelon Starbird differ in important respects from those which dominate Periods I and II, the differences have more to do with changes in tone, emphasis and the coding of the oppositions than they do with their underlying vision of what the Revolution is about. For example, the good/bad opposition which proved so useful in delineating the goodness of the Patriots and the evil of the Tories in the earlier novels has little explanatory power in many of these contemporary works. Characters in these later novels are no longer defined by their attachment to ideals and ideology but rather by their essential qualities as persons (i.e., their "niceness"). This breakdown in the idealistic/materialistic coding of the

good/bad opposition is also consistent with the just discussed fact that values and ideology no longer serve to motivate characters to action. The disintigration of the once stable family unit continues and actually accelerates in these contemporary novels. Fathers like "Life" Meeker (My Brother Sam Is Dead), Lachan MacLeod (Who Comes to King's Mountain?) and Mr. Starbird (Freelon Starbird) are, like Dr. West (Early Thunder), a far cry from the strong and noble fathers who dominate Periods I and II. Some like Life Meeker and Mr. Starbird are weak and indecisive. Lachan MacLeod, while strong, is also an evil, materialistic Tory, the only father figure so defined in the entire sample.

While changes in the interpretation of the Revolution underlying the novels helps to explain some of the shifts in the coding of the oppositions, explanations of the decline of the father figure and the extent to which values and ideology are eclipsed as instigators of action are, however, not so readily accounted for. The attempt to explain these phenomena will have to be postponed until the concluding section of this paper when the social sources of children's fiction are discussed.

With the exception of Freelon Starbird--a novel so intent on debunking the Whig interpretation of the Revolution that it leaves the reader wondering what the Revolution was really about--all of the just discussed novels still emphasize a vision of the Revolution as a struggle for abstract political rights. Furthermore, despite the presence of the conversion and fence-sitting variations in four of the novels written in Period IV, the essential outlines of the rite of passage motif remain unchanged, thereby reinforcing the notion that the Revolution was an event concerned, almost exclusively, with questions of independence and nationhood. Although changes do occur across the sample, the vision of the Revolution remains relatively constant and in no way approxi-

mates the rich and varied debate which professional historians have had about the nature and causes of the Revolution. Thus, the image of the Revolutionary War children's fiction has been, and continues to be dominated primarily by the readily caricatured Whig interpretation and, to a lesser extent, by its more refined and sophisticated descendent, the Consensus interpretation. As has been noted previously, the Whig's conceived of the Revolution as an epochal struggle in defense of traditional English liberties by a population united and resolved to resist British attempts to enslave them by establishing an independent, United States. Missing from both Whig history, and virtually every book in this sample, is the concern for the internal, class-based, conflict over the question of who should rule at home which the "Progressive" historian and their "Revisionist" descendents most clearly articulate. By posting a view of the Revolution as a struggle for political autonomy from Britain and by ignoring those who sought to transform social relationships within America, the authors of these books contribute to what John Higham (1959), in a widely read article critical of Consensus history, (1959) described as a massive grading operation to smooth over American's social convulsions (p. 94). Higham's (1962) concern that the approach of Consensus historians, and by inference the Whig historians, would mute conflict, underplay the "classical issues of social justice" and give little "sympathy and attention" to the violence in American life (p. 616) is born out by the books in the sample. This fact is also reinforced by the fact virtually all of the heroes and heroines of the novels are drawn from the white, middle and upper classes. The consistency with which the Revolution is seen through the eyes of these groups bestows the false and misleading impression of universality to their experiences when, in fact, other groups had markedly different perceptions of the issues at hand and involvement with them. This is especially so in re-

gard to the manner in which the Black presence in Revolutionary America is treated. In the earlier novels, authors subject Blacks to such vulgar and dehumanizing stereotyping that it serves to justify and legitimate their status as slaves. Later authors, either unwilling or unable to confront the paradoxical and contradictory fact of a growing slave presence amidst a Revolution supposedly fought for freedom and liberty, essentially eliminate Black altogether. This is an especially surprising finding given the prominence of the Civil Rights Movement during the era when the Period IV novels were written.

Higham's claims are also substantiated by the fact that lower class whites are usually presented as the target of scorn and derision. This is particularly true in regard to those who comprised the "mob" and violence-prone groups like the Liberty Boys. Books like Freedom's Daugher, The Crystal Cornerstone, Early Thunder and Redcoat in Boston, for example, depict these groups in a highly derogatory fashion without bothering to see their actions in the context of their position in society and especially, the awful impact which recurring unemployment had on them.[25] Even Wibberly's John Treegate's Musket, a novel containing considerable discussion of the economic issues which provide insight into "mob" behavior, fails to present us with a major character from this group. As a result, Wibberly's discussion of the economic background of the Revolution never becomes more than just that, background. The really significant characters in John Treegate's Musket are, in fact, drawn from the middle and upper classes and, ultimately, speak of the Revolution in terms of a struggle for liberty and freedom from British oppression. Consequently, John Treegate's Musket ends up having more in common with the vast majority of books in the sample than with Edwards', When the World's On Fire which, as we shall see, is the only novel told from the perspective of an

outsider.

The findings just presented are essentially consistent with those of Michael Kammen (1978) who found that authors of Revolutionary War fiction, intended primarily for adults, have invariably emphasized the political aspects of the Revolution--e.g., separation and independence from Britain--while ignoring its internal, social dimensions. By viewing the Revolution as "the national rite of passage" in which the nation was transformed from dependent colonies to an independent nation, authors have "made it seem unique and non-replicable" since, "having had our revolution then, we need not have another-ever again," (p. 219). Kammen argues that implicit in this rather conservative view our nation's beginning is the belief that it conceives of the Revolution as providing us "with such a beautifully structured society, as well as such an ideal frame of government that we will never require anything more than minor adjustments--some occassional fine tuning" (p. 219). Thus, the reader of the overwhelming majority of books in the sample is left with the impression that the Revolution resulted in the creation of a near perfect society and that successful conclusion of the Revolution effectively ended the need for reform and struggle. While it is undoubtably true that the American Revolution constituted one of the most significant advances in individual freedom and liberty in the annals of history, it is also true that some segments of American society benefitted more from it than others. This is certainly true of Black Americans and the fact that they are so conspicuously absent from so many of the novels, and treated so dreadfully in those in which they are present, has the effect of obscuring and mystifying the fact that the Revolution failed to resolve the contradictions and dilemmas posed by the Black presence in American society.

Before turning to Sally Edwards' When the World's On Fire--the only novel in the sample which does address the issues raised by the Black presence in Revolutionary America--a final point must be emphasized. Throughout this paper evidence has been presented to suggest that given a variety of possible explanations about the Revolution to choose from, authors of children's fiction have, to an overwhelming extent, drawn their interpretive framework from one which ignores the concerns of important segments of the colonial population and is thus naively simplistic, as well as conservative. The point here is not to claim, to use the words of Young (1976), that "the Revolution was a lower-class revolution" or that "the struggle over 'who should rule at home' was as important as the conflict for home rule against Britain--although for some people it clearly was just that" (p. 450). Instead, the evidence presented in this paper has sought to make apparent the fact that within children's historical fiction, a selective tradition has existed which preserves a conception of the American Revolution which does not embody the history and interests of all groups within American society.

In addition to being the only book in the sample to incorporate the Progressive/Revisionist interpretation, Edwards' When the World's On Fire (1973) is the only one to have a Black protagonist and the only one to directly confront the paradox of a war for liberty and freedom being conducted by a group including large numbers of slaveholders. That a single novel should differ in so many important respects from those which dominate the sample is more than a chance coincidence, but is instead a function of a markedly different conception of the Revolution, one which also departs from the sample in terms of the rite of passage structure which has been shown to be implicit in all of the novels.

Set in Charleston South Carolina after that city succumbed to a British siege, the novel offers a fictionalized account of how a ten year old slave--Annie McGee--came to blow up an important British munitions arsenal. Edwards offers extensive discussion of the economic grievances which drove such artisans as Timothy McGee--Annie's master--to revolt against British rule. Here, however, a far more explicit connection is made (than did Wibberly, 1959) between the much discussed, though rarely defined, liberties which British policies threatened and specific economic interests. Men like McGee, for example, saw as early as 1763 that their "rights as full fledged citizens [were] slipping away." McGee and the other "leather aprons" "wanted American manufactures for Americans and...wanted our guild system of free labor to triumph over the barbarous slave trade" (p. 56). McGee and his cohorts were, however, opposed by "the Nabobs", the "proud rich men who meant to outwit a mad king with soft words and compromise." These aristocrats viewed the leather aprons with contempt and saw them as vulgar and unfit to be "profound politicians or able statesmen" (p. 57). Note here that the split between artisan and "Nabob" is not the Whig--Tory split, as we find in My Brother Sam Is Dead, a book which also claims to incorporate elements of the Progressive interpretation, but rather a division within the Whig camp itself. This is made even more explicit in a statement--albeit a somewhat simplistic one--made by Aunt Maum which comes as close to addressing the Progressives' concern with the question of "who should rule at home" as does any in the entire sample:

> The war is really two wars. The Americans must win their independence first then decide who is to lead the new country--the poor men like your master who stand against slavery or the rich men, the planters, who would keep the black man in chains as long as money jingles in their pocket (p. 53-54).

Edwards paints a poignant picture of the tragic situation which confronted so many Blacks during the Revolution, a dilemma whose essence is best summarized by the unforgetable Maum Kate:

> The Americans promise freedom, if only we will ride and fight with them in the swamps. The Americans babble about liberty--yet it is only their own liberty they dream of, not ours. And the British, the most civilized of men, promise freedom only to enslave the slaves. We lose either way. (p. 101)

Kate's greatest raged is, however, voiced as she recalls the day in August of 1776 when the Declaration of Independence reached Charleston. Her words are especially important given the extent to which virtually all of the other authors in the sample ignore, or deny, the very reality which she so forthrightly confronts:

> What beautiful words the white men write--life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Four men from Charleston signed that declaration. Yet their slaves are still slaves, serving at tables, toiling in the fields (p. 101).

Because Edwards presents such a markedly different conception of the Revolution as an historical event, it is not surprising that When the World's on Fire also differs structurally in terms of the rite of passage motif. The difference can be seen both in the changes the Revolution works on Annie herself, as well as in the tone or attitude which the author has toward the events she describes.

Nine year Annie McGee is one of the youngest heroines in the sample and is therefore particularly weak and vulnerable. Being a slave, she is about as dependent on others as one could possibly imagine. Despite this, there is little question that she is changed in significant ways by the events described in the novel. While she remains a frightened little girl at the novel's conclusion, Annie has clearly learned important things about, for example, her ability to contend with pain and fear. She has also realized that her people can struggle successfully in their own behalf and that with courage and steadfastness even a terrified little girl can contribute to that struggle. In addition, Annie has survived the tragic death of her brother.

These facts contribute to a sense that Annie has become a stronger, more self reliant and independent individual. Nevertheless, and despite these facts, Annie remains a slave at the novel's conclusion, the tone of which borders on almost tragic resignation. Furthermore, the historical epilogue informs us of that even those slaves who fought for the American cause were, "with few exceptions, returned voluntarily, and otherwise, to their masters" (p. 124). In a very real sense, Edwards leaves us feeling that what has transpired, and been accomplished, differs from that which was achieved in the other books. Even My Brother Sam Is Dead, a book which finds its protagonist choosing not to participate in the war, ends with an epilogue which speaks with certainty that the nation will have a "great history" (Collier and Collier, 1974, p. 245). Edwards leaves us with no such certainty, only with a sense of rage mingled with despair. It is hard, therefore, to conceive of Edwards' Revolution as a rite of passage.

In his discussion of primarily adult fiction written about the Revolution, Kammen (1978) observes that,

> rites of passage are meant to analogize God's chosen children coming of age, and in the process becoming a people. By understanding the aspiring colonial adolescent, we are supposed to acquire an empathetic knowledge of the single most critical moment in our own national history (p. 206).

There is doubt that this generalization holds true for the overwhelming majority of books in the sample. Even when authors do not literally state the connection between the experiences of their protagonists, and that of the nation, there can be no question but that the individual's rite of passage is meant to be, in Kammen's words, "a paradigm of the larger society's coming of age" (p. 206). The same claim cannot, however, be made in regards to Edwards' vision of the Revolution which differs so dramatically from that offered by the other books. Even if one could state with assuredness that

Annie McGee had undergone a rite of passage--an arguable point for so young a child--it is clear that Edwards did not intend to imply that the nation itself had come of age as a result of its Revolution. Indeed, Edwards' vision of the Revolution contains the implicit understanding that, for significant numbers of Americans, the Revolution had not yet been won and that, in fact, it had just begun.

This paper began with an overview of some recent literature which has emphasized the important role played by the knowledge transmitted on schools in the cultural reproduction of the social order. It was suggested that a "selective tradition" has existed which has historically led to the incorporation into the formal corpus of school knowledge of the history, culture and traditions of the dominant groups in society and the exclusion of the history, culture and traditions of groups (e.g., women, Blacks, the laboring classes) who have lacked economic, social, and political power. This paper, and the study upon which it is based (Taxel, 1980), are in essential accord with these theoretical perspectives. Despite some significant changes in tone and emphasis of recent novels, children's Revolutionary War fiction has, over the years, presented a highly selective conception of that pivotal event on American history. As we have seen, the overwhelming majority of the books in the sample rely on a conception of the Revolution which is largely discredited by professional historians and is quite conservative in that it all but ignores the perspectives of significant segments of the colonial population. Furthermore, in making our Revolution seem "unique and nonreplicable," to use Michael Kammen's (1978, p. 219) words, and by implying that the Revolution resulted in the creation of a near-perfect form of government, the novels contribute to the belief that little change and or reform, if any, might be needed. Given the high degree of social stratification in contemporary America,

such a perspective on American history and society clearly favors those occupying positions of wealth and dominance.[26]

The simplistic, selective and conservative conception of the Revolution found in the novels was also shown to be reinforced by the manner in which the various authors give form and structure to their novels. This fact was illustrated by fact that the novels are populated by characters from the middle and upper classes while Black and lower class whites are either excluded or portrayed in a stereotyped and derogatory fashion. In addition the coding of characters along such binary oppositions as the good/bad opposition was also shown to reinforce a particular perspective on events. This was particularly true for the novels written during Periods I and II, all of which are informed by the Whig interpretation. Finally the rite of passage motif also reinforces the Whig/Consensus notion that the Revolution was exclusively concerned with the question of home rule and unconcerned with issues such as class conflict, economic, social and political justice which concerned the Progressive/Revisionist historians and which are also central to Sally Edwards' conception of the Revolution. In choosing to conceive of the Revolution exclusively in terms of a struggle to attain independence from Britain, rather than one also seeking to alter social relationships, the novels in this sample contribute to the incorporation into the American historical tradition of what Thursfeld (1947) termed "the legend of equality of opportunity [and] the idea of [America] as a classless society" (p. 91).

Thus far my explanatory remarks have been largely restricted to the consideration of the legitimating functions played by novel content (i.e., the interpretation of the Revolution contained in the novels), although the manner in which novel form or structure reinforces a particular historiographic conception of the Revolution has also been mentioned. Indeed, a major

finding of the study under discussion is the extent to which novel content and form reinforce and interpenetrate each other, a finding which strongly suggests that future research needs to compliment analyses of tradebooks and textbook content with a consideration of the legitimating functions played by their form. Before directly addressing the as yet unmentioned legitimating functions of novel form itself, and its relationship to a changing socio-economic and historical milieu, it is first necessary to briefly consider the impact which the changing historical setting has had on the way in which authors writing for children have interpreted the Revolution. Consideration of this issue is of particular importance because of the unmistakable impact which changing historical circumstance plays in shaping cultural creations such as children's literature. Consideration of these factors are of additional significance because, as Kelly (1974) points out, scholars interested in children's literature have largely confined themselves to the internal analysis of literary texts and have, therefore, tended to ignore the forces which influence and shape literature.

Historical Context and The Interpretation of the American Revolution

Michael Kammen's (1978) study of "adult" fiction written about the Revolution suggested that this vast body of literature could best be understood when seen in the context of the time in which the various authors worked. Thus, he concluded that the literary nostalgia which characterized the adult books written between 1895 and 1906 was a product of the attempts of the authors writing at that time to "escape from the painful realities of industrialized America and from the class conflict that threatened to shred the very fabric of society" (p. 164). Kammen then traced the antiwar sentiment characteristic of many of the novels written in the years following World War I to the disillusionment engendered by that conflict (p. 167). Finally, he

interpreted the reaffirming attempts of authors writing in the 1930's and 1940's to trace the roots of our "national character" to the uncertainty of our survival which were products of a "devastating, prolonged depression from within and totalitarianism from without" (p. 176).

The novels examined for the present study show none of the nostalgia for better days described by Kammen. While, anti-war sentiment is visible in novels written during the era of the Vietnam War--particularly in books, like My Brother Sam Is Dead and Freelon Starbird--none is visible in books published during the post World War I era. What one does find in the overwhelming majority of books published during Periods I and II of this sample is a concern to get to the roots of our national character and belief system and an attempt to legitimate the values and ideals upon which the nation was founded. As has been noted, these tendences are particularly strong in books written in the years before, during and after World War II and those written during the early years of the Cold War.[27] Thus, books like Johnny Tremain and Battle Lanterns place emphasis on the ideological issues surrounding the Revolution and the notion that it was a "just war." Clearly, the perceived threat of European fascism and Russian communism influenced the manner in which authors writing during that time chose to portray the Revolution. As a consequence, novels such as Johnny Tremain and Battle Lanterns reflect an overriding confidence in the righteousness of American history and institutions which stemmed from their authors' perception of America as the defender of the "free world." This confidence and certainty was undermined by the Vietnam war, the impact of which is readily discernable in the novels written during the era during which that war was being waged.

The shattering disillusionment which accompanied the Vietnam War is clearly evident in the novels of Period IV. The uncertainty and indecision which many Americans felt about the justice of our involvement in that con-

flict is evidenced in the problem of commitment which characters like Daniel West, Harry Warrilow, Tim Meeker, Alec MacLeod and Freelon Starbird face. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the examples of the "fence sitting" and "conversion" plots found in the sample, were written during the height of this war and its immediate aftermath. The rejection of Revolutionary ideology by characters such as Tim Meeker, Alec MacLeod and Freelon Starbird, while related to factors to be discussed in the section which follows, is also traceable to the more generalized suspicion about the motives behind United States foreign policy which resulted from the Vietnam conflict. In a similar vein, the overwhelming sense of cynicism which pervades Freelon Starbird, the final book in the sample, can be seen as a product of the cynicism engendered by the Watergate scandal.

This admittedly cursory overview of the relationship between the conception of an historical event such as the Revolution, and the particular historical era in which a particular authors worked, indicates that future analyses of both tradebook and textbook content need to give relationships of this sort far greater consideration than has been the case in the past. By situating the work of an author within a context which considers the preoccupations and concerns of the times in which they were written, we are better able to understand the perspectives authors bring to bear when they interpret the past. This process can thereby contribute to our understanding of both the past as well as the present.

The Social Sources of the Narrative Structure of Children's Revolutionary War Fiction

A final issue to be addressed in this paper pertains to the possible legitimating functions served by the form, or narrative structure of the novels. This is an area of investigation which has only recently been of interest to

those doing research into such narrative forms as children's literature and films. Gordon Kelly's (1970) work, for example, found nineteenth century children's periodical fiction ratifying a particular conception of social values and a pattern for maintaining social order at a juncture in American history when "social order seemed increasingly threatened" (pp. 2-3). Wright, in his analysis of Western films, revealed that the Western has evolved in a fashion which has enabled it to provide a model of social action suited to the requirements of a changing socio-economic and historical milieu. Thus, Wright found the model of action in the Classical Western corresponding to the requirements of a market economy while the model presented in the modern day, Professional Western provides a blueprint for correct behavior which corresponds to the demands of life under a corporate economy. Wright demonstrated that these changes were reflected, in varying degrees, in both the oppositions which define the meaning inherent in characters and in the sequence of events or functions which describes their actions.

In this paper I have shown that the narrative structure of children's Revolutionary War fiction is structured as a rite of passage and that it has remained fairly stable over the life of the sample, this despite the existence of the fence-sitting and conversion variations. Thus, the structure of the novels in the sample do not evidence the dramatic changes Wright found in the Western. The present study did, however, document some significant parallels in the coding of the oppositions which form the deep structure of both the Westerns which Wright analyzed and the novel which constitute the present sample. In order to make these points clear it will be necessary to discuss Wright's findings in some detail.

In the Classical Western[28] which dominates the period 1930 to 1955, one encounters strong and good heroes who give up their independent status

when they decide to oppose the bad, materialistic villains who threaten society. The society itself is weak, but represents such important social values as peace, equality, family, love and morality. In giving up their independent status to defend society and its values the heroes, according to Wright, represent the autonomous market individual who symbolically works out the conceptual conflict between bourgeois values and the institutions of capitalism.

> Bourgeous values, though attached to the rationality of the market, are still founded on consensual norms that stress freedom, equality, peace, and the theoretical availability of meaningful human relationships--family, love, satisfying work--to everyone. The institutions of capitalism however, structure actual human relationships according to the needs of the self-regulating market, which, of course, is not concerned with social values but with profit and production (Wright, p. 135).

The Classical Western seeks to resolve this institutional contradiction on a practical level, by providing a paradigm of appropriate behavior which can be utilized to overcome it (Wright, p. 150). This nature of the solution becomes evident when the hero decides to oppose the villains in their unrestrained drive for wealth and power. The villains themselves represent the unbridled market self interest theoretically necessary for the self regulating market to operate. Their defeat is then an affirmation of the social values of bourgeois society which the heroes uphold when they give up their independent status to oppose the villains.

A similar configuration exists in the books which dominate Periods I and II of my sample although children's Revolutionary War fiction certainly does not directly seek to resolve the dilemma posed by the conflict between bourgeois social values and those demanded by the self regulating market. The underlying dimensions of this conflict are, however, evident in the coding of the good/bad opposition which was found in the overwhelming majority of books written during these two periods which cover the years 1899 to 1953.

Books like A Continental Dollar (1923), Silent Scot, Frontier Scout (1920), Freedom's Daughter (1930), The Green Cockade (1942), Rebel Siege (1943), Treason at the Point (1944), and Battle Lanterns (1949) are rather clear and straight forward in terms of the kind of fictional world they offer to their youthful readers. Repeatedly, we encounter youthful heroes and heroines who are models of good behavior. They are obedient, respectful of authority and accepting of their elder's perception of the crisis brought on by the breach between England and her colonies. The protagonists' acceptance of the values and ideology of the American cause is an especially crucial defining characteristic of the novels in Period I and II in that they constitute the reason for their involvement in the conflict. In a real sense, the heroes and heroines of these early novels struggle to advance a set of values, just as their counterparts in the Western join the fight to uphold the values represented by the society.

The families of these early protagonists are strong and harmonious, even when they lack one or more of its adult members. It provides a source of nurture, support and sustenance to these youthful characters despite the fact that much of their energy is expended in an attempt to move outside of its confines. The family also functions as the locus of social values--a role played by the society in the Classical Western. The elders, be they fathers or "father figures," are especially accepting of these values and are invariably portrayed as models of strength and virtue. They fight in behalf of the ideology of the Revolution because it promises to bring about a just social order conducive to the establishment of institutions quite similar to those the Classical Western heroes seek to uphold--homes, families, churches, etc. In their struggle to advance these aims, these good and strong adults are, as we have seen, usually opposed by calculating, avaricious individuals

whose efforts to advance their narrow self interest threatens to undermine the success of the cause. This selfish materialism is the most significant characteristic of these early villains. In rejecting the values which their opposites espouse, the villains of Periods I and II--like counterparts in the Western--are a manifestation of the "unbridled market self interest" which poses so ominous a threat to those seeking to establish a just and humane society. Thus, two quite different narrative forms, written at approximately the same time, manifest rather striking parallels in the codings which define the most basic qualities of their central characters. In seeking to locate the social sources of children's Revolutionary War fiction, we are compelled, as was Wright, to look to the underlying dimensions of a conflict which goes to the very heart of the way in which our society is organized.

Locating the "source" of the good/bad opposition, especially its idealist/materialist coding, is a particularly crucial and intriguing question in light of the insignificance of economic causation in the Whig interpretation which informs all of the books written during Periods I and II. Given the fact that the period during which the Classical Western is dominant (1930 to 1955) overlaps Periods I and II of this study (1899-1953), one can speculate, with a measure of confident assuredness, that the meanings embedded in the characters of both the Western films and the Revolutionary fiction of this period, are, at least in part, products of the dominant ideological structures of this period. Wright, drawing in the work of Polanyi (1944), Habermas (19[illegible]) and Galbraith (1968), argued that these structures are those of the market economy. Being a fundamentally different genre, intended for a different audience, children's Revolutionary War fiction does not, as was noted previously, seek to resolve the contradiction between bourgeois social values and the needs of the self regulating market which is the "subject" of

the Classical Western. Nevertheless the meanings which underlies the coding of the characters of these novels do seem to reflect the same tensions and contradictions which inform the Classical Western. In light of this discussion, it is possible to conclude, if not prove in a strictly empirical sense, that one of the basic dimensions of the novels in Periods I and II (e.g., the coding of the good/bad opposition) is consistent with that found to exist in Classical Western films. Both forms, produced during approximately the same time period, can be said to have been profoundly influenced, and shaped, by the dominant ideological structures of the period in which they were created--those of the market economy.

Coming of age for the characters in the periods under discussion is primarily a question of demonstrating readiness and worthiness to enter the world of responsible adulthood. It is <u>not</u> one of finding a set of meanings and values by which to live one's life. The Revolution, as I have suggested in this paper, functions as the vehicle through which these characters prove their readiness. On the most basic level then, the model of social action presented in these books suggests that duty, commitment, persistence and obedience will ultimately lead to success and acceptance into the adult world. As we shall now see, there is a significant shift in both the model of action offered, and the manner in which characters are coded, and thus given meaning, in the final periods of this study.

The coding of the Professional Western constitutes a radical departure from that of the Classical. The good/bad distinction, which had previously depended both on an individual's qualities as a person and on their commitment to social values, is now dependent solely on the sympathy we feel for the heroes as opposed to the villains. Consequently, the basis of the sympathy we feel for the likes of Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kidd--the heroes of

perhaps the best known Professional Western--stems from the niceness and geniality they display in comparison to those they oppose. The heroes of the Professional Westerns do, however, often act in ways which can only be described as anti-social (e.g., Butch and Sundance are outlaws). This is a development which is unthinkable in the moral universe of the Classical Western.

A change of this significance is possible because of the transformation of the image of society itself. No longer the seat of social values, the society of the Professional Western is characterized by Wright as "petty, self righteous, dull and mercenary" (p. 183). He explains this change in society's image as a function of the evolution of the basic economic matrix of society from one based on a self regulating market to one mangaged, and directed, by corporate and government technocrats. Concomitant to this change is a commitment to the creation and utilization of large scale technology. As a result,

> the practical social goals, which the technology should be instrumental in achieving, become increasingly obscured and separated from the need to maximize the use and efficiency of the technology. Thus the values of the institutional framework of society--equality, community, freedom, and so forth--are replaced by the values of the . . . economy--economic growth, profits, and creation of markets (Wright, p. 177).

A further consequence of this change in society's image concerns the manner in which the strength of the heroes is defined. This strength is now solely a function of a character's technical proficiency as a gunfighter. Virtue and strength of character, which had previously been so important in assessing the worth of a character, are now rather insignificant. Furthermore, the fight which engages the energies of these latterday heroes, and often claims their lives, is fought for money and not social values--a development which stems from the fact that neither the heroes or society have any values (Wright, pp. 182-183).

What is bestowed with value in the Professional Western is the elite group which is formed to "fight the fight." Despite the fact that membership in this group depends entirely upon technical skill (e.g., fighting ability) and absolute acceptance of the goals of the group (e.g., the fight for money), the interactions of the group are characterized by loyalty, respect and friendship. Thus, because of the deep seated changes in social institutions now preclude the formation of satisfying relationship within society itself, and because society has become something to be avoided, powerful elite groups are created to provide meaningful social interactions. "As a model for social action, the Professional Western directs the individual to reject social values and involvement for the sake of companionship and technical power" (p. 183-184). Summing up the significance of this transformation, Wright observes that,

> In the sixties and seventies, the traditional conceptual conflict between the idea of society and the idea of the individual has been transformed into a conflict between society and an elite group. This is perhaps one of the most significant consequences of the emergence of capitalist technology as a social and ideological force (p. 184).

As was the case with the parallels between the Classical Western and the novels in Periods I and II, the similarities between the Professional Western--the first of which appeared in 1959--and the books in Periods III and IV (1959-1961, 1967-1976) pertain primarily to the manner in which characters are coded along the various oppositions. While Revolutionary War fiction for children differs significantly when compared to Professional Westerns, the more contemporary novels in my sample are marked by several tendencies which clearly echo those Wright documented in the Western.

One of the most important changes in the coding of the Professional Western concerns the aforementioned transformation of the image of society.

Once the seat of positive social values, the society of the modern Western embodies many of the negative qualities previously represented by the villains of the Classical Western. This decline in the importance of values as motivators is emphasized further by the fact that the Professional heroes fight solely for money rather than in defense of society and its values. The novels written during Periods III and IV of the present study also evidence a displacement of values as instigators of action which is quite similar to that found in the Professional Western. In a similar vein, the more contemporary novels in my sample also show a change in the image of the family which in the earlier novels had served a function quite similar to that of the society in the Classical Western.

It would be incorrect to state that the heroes and heroines of Periods III and IV reject the values and ideology of the Revolution in precisely the same manner that the Professional Western heroes show disdain for values of the society. Nevertheless, when we compare the role played by values in determining the course of action followed by our more contemporary protagonists, we do see an unmistakable parallel to the Professional Western. This change is all the more apparent when one recalls the vital function which revolutionary values and ideology served in motivating the heroes and heroines of the earlier novels to cast their lot with the American cause.

With but a few exceptions the protagonists in Periods I and II are wholeheartedly enthusiastic about the Revolutionary cause. Furthermore, this stance is consistent with that of the father, or whichever individual stands at the head of the family. Thus, the novels written during Periods I and II are marked by a consistency in the attitude of the protagonists and their family in regards to the issues involved in the Revolution.

The first crack in this overwhelming consensus occurs in Tree of Freedom where Jonathan Venable and his son Noel argue over the correct course of action to take in regards to the Revolution. It is significant, however, that the source of this disagreement does not concern the efficacy of the American cause itself but the question of whether or not it is necessary to get involved in it. Nevertheless, this first disagreement between a father and son constitutes the initial fissure in the previously unbroken solidarity of family relationships. This split between Jonathan Venable and son also serves to foreshadow the rather significant disintegration in family relationships in family relationships in the novels of Periods III and IV.

Earlier in this paper I alluded to the split between Peter and John Treegate (John Treegate's Musket), Adam and Moses Cooper (April Morning), Daniel and Dr. West (Early Thunder), Sam and Life Meeker (My Brother Sam Is Dead), Alec and Lachan MacLeod (Who Comes to King's Mountain?) and Freelon and Mr. Starbird (Freelon Starbird). With the exception of the split between the Coopers in April Morning, all of these disputes are fundamentally concerned with differing perceptions on the correct course of action to take vis-a-vis the war. However, while books like John Treegate's Musket and Early Thunder simply depict a disagreement between father and son over the question of allegiance, and end up affirming the values espoused by the Patriots, My Brother Sam Is Dead, Who Comes to King's Mountain? and Freelon Starbird, end up rejecting Revolutionary ideology as sufficient cause to go to war. Furthermore, two novels not previously discussed, Rebecca's War (Finlayson, 1972) and Ruffles and Drums (Cavanna, 1975), have virtually nothing to say about principles and values, and are more concerned with presenting the highly personalized, introspective reactions of an individual to

crisis and conflict. Finally, Edwards', When the World's On Fire, while affirming the need for all individuals to live with dignity and freedom lays bare the hypocrisy and contradictions inherent in American Revolutionary ideology and therefore constitutes a particular kind of rejection of these values.

The evidence presented in the foregoing discussion strongly suggests that the last two periods of my sample are marked by a steady decline in the role which values play in determining the reasons why characters act as they do in regards to the Revolution. This deemphasis in the importance of values as motivators of action parallels that evidenced in the Professional Western. It also presents a striking contrast to the books in Periods I and II where a character's idealism and commitment to the ideology of the Revolution were crucial factors in defining their goodness and status as heroes or heroines. The more contemporary novels also parallel the Professional Western in the manner in which they create reader sympathy and identification with the heroes. Since adherence to a shared set of values no longer contributes to that sense of identification, the reader's sympathy for the main characters in these contemporary novels becomes a function of his, or her, sympathy for the existential dilemma faced by these characters. Thus, the significance of a Tim Meeker's (My Brother Sam Is Dead) decision to sit out the war, an Alec MacLeod (Who Comes to King's Mountain?) deciding to join the American army because of his affection for Francis Marion (instead of belief in the efficacy of the American cause), and Freelon Starbird's "accidental" enlistment into the Continental Army, can only be grasped when measured against the explanations of allegiance offered by the likes of Reba Stanhope (Freedom's Daughter), Rab Silesbee (Johnny Tremain), and Bill Barlow (Battle Lanterns). As a group, the main characters of Periods

I and II display the heroism, fortitude and courage which justifies their being called heroes or heroines. In contrast, most of the central figures in the novels in Periods III and IV are better described as protagonists in that their behavior is often less than heroic. This evolution of the central character from hero, or heroine, to protagonist parallels the change from the hero of the Classical Western to what is essentially the anti-hero in the Professional Western. Both tendencies seem to be related to the fact that neither the protagonists of the contemporary novels or the (anti) heroes of the Professional Western champion an explicitly articulated set of values.

This decline in the importance of values also coincides with the fracture of the family and family relationships. Not only do fathers and sons have ideological disagreements not visible in the earlier novels, but the image of the father himself has, in many instances, been transformed. While fathers had previously been depicted as paragons of strength and virtue, several of the fathers of the contemporary period are portrayed as weak and indecisive (e.g., Dr. West, Life Meeker, Mr. Starbird). One father, Lachan MacLeod, is even shown to be driven by the selfish materialism which had served to define the villains of Periods I and II. Thus, two of the defining characteristics of Periods I and II have been markedly altered in the last two periods. The first of these changes, the role of values in determining the allegiance of the protagonist, directly parallels a change Wright documented in the Professional Western. The second, the disruption of the solidarity of the family is paralleled, in a much more general way, by the changed image of the society in the contemporary Western. While the family in the later books is not depicted as bad, as is the case with the society of the Professional Western, the divisions within it and the altered appearance of some of the fathers does constitute a major shift in the perception of an institution basic to the structure of the novels.

Wright explained the change from the Classical to the Professional Western as corresponding to the transition from a market to a corporate, managed economy. This fundamental change is reflected in the replacement of the lone gunman of the Classical Western, who gives up his independent status to fight for social values, by the elite group of gunfighters who undertake a fight for the sake of money alone. Of course the protagonists of even the more contemporary novels in my sample do not join the Revolution to make money, nor do they form elite groups comparable to those found in contemporary Westerns. These latter-day novels do, however, evidence the same deemphasis in the role which positive social values play in motivating the protagonists to act to be found in the contemporary Western. This congruence between two admittedly disparate narrative forms on an element of such fundamental importance makes it possible for us to infer that the displacement of values in both the novels and the films are traceable to a change in the basic pattern of institutional organization. This change has undercut, and in some instances negated, values which had previously been so important. The differences between the two forms of narrative (e.g., the absence in the novels of the elite group) are not nearly as significant as this similarity in their underlying "deep structure." These differences can, in fact, simply be traced to the inherent dissimilarity between the forms themselves. In this regard, it is important to recall Eagleton's (1976) suggestion that each literary form has a "relatively autonomous" history which needs to be scrutinized in its own right. Eagleton does, however, also point out that literary forms crystallize our of "certain dominant ideological structures" present at specific junctures in history (p. 26). A basic thesis advanced in this paper, then, is that the changes I have documented in the form of children's Revolutionary War fiction are, at least in part, products

of the same basic structural changes which Wright advanced to explain the changes in the structure of Western films.

This thesis is also helpful in explaining one of the most important developments to be found in the books written during the final period of the sample (1967-1976)--the preoccupation with highly personalized, introspective accounts of the Revolution. In books like Rebecca's War and Ruffles and Drums this concern with individual characters leads to the virtual exclusion of discussion about the war and its issues. In My Brother Sam Is Dead, Who Comes to King's Mountain? and Freelon Starbird, we have seen how this preoccupation with the highly subjective feelings and reactions of individuals leads to the actual rejection of Revolutionary ideology. While the novel itself is a literary form whose history reflects the growing concern with the individual, and individual experience, which accompanied the social and economic transformations which were concommittant to the growth of industrial capitalism,[29] the intense focus on individual experience manifested in the latter books in the sample carries these tendencies to extremes not evidenced in earlier works. This tendency, when viewed in conjunction with the lessening importance which a commonly accepted set of values and beliefs play in instigating action, yields an intensely subjective picture of the Revolution not present in earlier works where there is at least agreement on, for example, what the war is about.

The model of social action suggested by many of the more contemporary novels differs significantly from that of earlier works where virtue, selflessness, duty and commitment to a clearly defined set of values are shown to lead to success and acceptance into the world of responsible adulthood. While passage to adulthood is still the central concern of these latter-day novels, there is now a preoccupation with each individual's perception of reality and

a rejection of the notion that the initiates must accept the dictates of their elders. Many no longer do so and characters like Daniel West, Tim Meeker, Freelon Starbird and Alec MacLeod struggle to decide for themselves precisely what is, and what is not, worth fighting for. Thus, one of the implicit "messages" contained in many of the Period IV novels is that values and ideals are suspect and to be viewed with suspicion--a fact that necessitates that each individual chart their own way through the confusion and tumult of life. Further, one cannot always expect guidance from others as even parents are shown to occasionally fail to provide proper guidance and sound judgment. Personal experience and feeling are thus the keys to knowledge and can, in a sense, be said to have been elevated to the status previously held by Revolutionary ideology and the values associated with the family. Indeed the frequency of the "fence sitting" and "conversion" plot variations during this period point strongly to the uncertainty and confusion which have been the result of the eclipse of a specific set of values which the individuals in the earlier novels accept without question. It is only through an often painful "testing of the waters"--often involving serious disagreements with their family--that characters like Daniel West, Tim Meeker, Alec MacLeod and Freelon Starbird decide on a suitable course of action.

The source of this preoccupation with the self was suggested recently by Richard Sennett (1978).

> The value American society places on individual experience might seem to lead its citizens to measure all social life in terms of personal feeling. However, it is not rugged individualism which is now experienced; rather, it is anxiety about the individual feeling which individuals write large in terms of the way the world works. The source of this anxiety lies in broad changes in capitalism and in religious beliefs (p. 5).

According to Daniel Bell (1978), the character structure produced by capitalism as a socioeconomic system are those associated with Weber's notion

of the Protestant ethic. It included the norms of self control, delayed gratification and purposeful behavior in the pursuit of well defined goals. Bell goes on to point out that this ethic has been undermined by capitalism itself and especially the invention of the installment plan, or instant credit, when he terms, "the greatest single engine in the destruction of the Protestant ethnic."

> Previously one had to save in order to buy. But with credit cards one could indulge in instant gratification. The system was transformed by mass production and mass consumption by the creation of new wants and new means of gratifying those wants (p. 21).

The point in need of emphasis at this juncture is that the almost narcassistic absorption and preoccupation with the self, and self gratification, is a cultural phenomenon which has its roots in changes in the fundamental organization of society which shapes the manner in which people behave, and are expected to behave. An important claim made throughout this paper and by Wright, is that such changes in outlook, individual perception and interpersonal relationships make their way into and are reflected in imaginative works such as children's Revolutionary War fiction and Western films. It is in this sense that culture, as Bourdieu's (1971) suggested, "reproduces in transfigured, and therefore unrecognizable form, the structure of prevalent socio-economic relationships." What Bourdieu is suggesting is that cultural forms produce a "symbolic representation of the social world adjusted to the structure of socio-economic relationships." Because these relationships are perceived as "natural," they can contribute to "the symbolic buttressing of the existing balance of forces" (p. 1255). A similar point was made by Willis (1977) in his important ethnographic account of life in a British working class high school.

> It is in the passage through the cultural level that aspects of the real structural relationships of society are transformed into conceptual relationships and back again. The cultural is part of the dialectic of reproduction (p. 74).

Both Bourdieu and Willis suggest that all cultural forms--be they novels, films, or the social relations of classrooms--somehow embody the structure of socio-economic relationships that dominate society at a given moment in history. A consequence of this view is that cultural forms serve to legitimate these relationships which then assume a "natural appearance." Such "symbolic buttressing" also tends to obscure what Williams (1977) termed "the dissoluable connections between material production, political and cultural institutions and activity and consciousness," (p. 80). The connection between the specific behavioral models ratified by the novels in the sample (and those discussed by Wright) and the historical epoch in which they were written is an illustration of this crucial theoretical point which is just now being given the attention it merits.

A final illustration of this point can be seen in the vision of the individual, and individualism, legitimated by the novels. Individualism, as Ward (1969) points out, is a notion deeply rooted in the fabric of American thought consciousness (pp. 213-266). Williams (1961) and Lukes (1973) view individualism as a concept with a history and development which cannot be understood apart from the overall evolution and development of society and, particularly, the development of capitalism which resulted in previously unimaginable possibilities for individual freedom and action. Our notion of individualism--more precisely the "abstract" individual--is, in fact, so deeply ingrained in our thinking that it has become part of our commonsense view of reality. As a result, we tend to forget that the abstract individual is, as Williams (1961) reminds us, "a product of a particular social and historical situation rather than a correct reading of the general human condition" (p. 98).

The novel as a literary form is itself a product of altered social relationships, and ways of perceiving which accompanied the growth of capitalism. Williams (1961) suggests that the novel and the domestic drama became the vehicles for a "new consciousness" associated with the rising middle class of eighteenth century England (p. 301). Eagleton (1976) brings these issues into even sharper focus:

> Significant developments in literary form . . . result from significant changes in ideology. They embody new ways of perceiving social reality and new . . . relations between artist and audience . . . The novel . . . reveals in its very form a changed set of ideological interests. No matter what content a particular novel of the time may have, it shares certain formal structures with other such works: a shifting of interest from the romantic and supernatural to individual psychology and "routine" experience; a concept of lifelike, substantial "character"; a concern with the material fortunes of an individual protagonist who moves through an unpredictably evolving, linear narrative and so on. This changed form . . . is a product of an increasingly confident bourgeois class, whose consciousness has broken beyond the limits of older "aristocratic" literary conventions (p. 24-25).

In light of this discussion, it is suggested that the very form of the novel, with its focus on individual perception, lends at least tacit ideological support to notions of the abstract individual which commentators such as Apple (1979), Williams (1961), and Cagan (1978) suggest are, at best, problematic in a modern, complex, and inter-dependent society. This focus on highly individual perception is also somewhat incongruous in light of the fact that the Revolution was a collective movement made up of diverse peoples from many different walks of life. This tendency to deal with historical events in a manner which reduces them to a single focus, be it an individual, a family, or an event, was recently noted by Foner (1979) in his discussion of television "docudramas":

> The fact that individual action is highlighted and collective action ignored is not simply a consequence of the small screen. Even more, one suspects, it reflects the persistent hold of that peculiarly American strand of individualism (p. 724).

My point here is not, of course, to suggest that children's novels are themselves the cause of the cult of individualism which today pervades American society, or to recommend that children's authors stop writing novels. Rather, I am suggesting that as an important mode of perception, the novel has a history which is deeply rooted in the evolving structure of society's productive institutions. With its focus on the perceptions of abstract individuals, which are taken to new extremes in the most recent books, it is suggested that novels may serve to "symbolically buttress" sets of social relationships which are not, in and of themselves, natural or neutral, but are instead, specific to the existing "balances of forces."

Conclusion

Time and space does not permit discussion of all of the issues and implications raised by this paper. Perhaps the most significant of these is that of the nature of determinations, a issue which has long been a concern of European theoreticians (e.g., Williams 1977, Barrett, Corrigan, Kuhn and Wolff, 1979) but has in recent years been debated in the United States in regards to Bowles and Gintis' correspondence theory. The extent to which the present study draws on that of Wright makes the question of correspondence theories of particular importance. Wright's theory of a "correspondence between the structure of the Western" and the "conceptual needs of social and self understanding required by dominant social institutions" (p. 114), also contains a rather mechanistic conception of the relationship between text and context. This theory leaves little room for--indeed his analysis omits mention of--individual autonomy and the possible intentions of authors and directors. What is being suggested is that any adequate theory seeking to outline the relationship between text and social context must resist the tendency evidenced by both Bowles and Gintis and Wright. Both Schooling in

Capitalist America and Six Guns and Society hypothesize a one-to-one correspondence between socio-economic institutions (context) and culture (text)--one in which "our social concepts and actions are totally prefigured or predicated upon a pre-existing set of economic conditions that control cultural activity including everything in schools." (Apple, 1980, in press) Michael Apple (1980) has instead suggested that a "much more flexible" approach to the analysis of determinations must be entertained. Such an approach would see determinations as a

> . . . complex nexus of relationships, which, in their final moments, may be economically rooted, but which exert pressures and set limits on (rather than mechanistically determine) cultural practice. The focus here, hence, is both on the kinds of limits set by social and material conditions and on the kinds of partial autonomy institutions and cultural processes have within these limits (in press).

The notion of partial, or relative, autonomy is of especial importance. Indeed, the fact that the novels in my sample were not reducible to the kinds of specific and invariant functions Wright documents in the Western, is seen as an illustration of this autonomy. Nevertheless, evidence presented in this paper, and in Wright's study, clearly indicates that certain attitudes, social ideologies, and ways of perceiving and making sense of the world make their way into narratives forms such as children's fiction and Western films. The nature of the definition of good and evil in the novels in Period I and II and the Classical Western; the disintegration of both family in Period IV and the image of the society in the Professional Western and the decline in the role played by positive social values and Revolutionary ideology in the Professional Western and the novels in Period IV are the most apparent examples of this fact. On the other hand, despite these striking similarities in the underlying deep structure of the novels, as well as in the historiographic conception of the Revolution contained in the sample as a whole, one still finds

a measure of diversity and difference in individual books. The fact that the most recent novels diverge in some significant ways from the dominant interpretation in the sample as a whole, suggests that we may, in fact, be in a period when children's authors writing about the Revolution have a greater degree of freedom and autonomy than was previously possible.[30] This entire issue of the role of social determinants, and the possible autonomy of art, has been neatly summarized by Cawelti (1976). While not sharing quite the same approach to the issues as Apple, or the present author, Cawelti does bring matters into sharp focus.

> In the present state of our knowledge, it seems more reasonable to treat social and psychological factors not as single determinant causes of literary expression but as elements in a complex process that limits in various ways the complete autonomy of art. In making cultural interpretations of literary patterns, we should consider them not as simple reflections of social ideologies or psychological needs but as instances of a relatively autonomous mode of behavior that is involved in a complex dialectic with other aspects of human life. It is reasonable to see collective attitudes entering into the artistic works created and enjoyed by a particular group as a limit on what is likely to be represented in a story and how it is likely to be treated. What we must avoid is an automatic reading into a story of what we take to be the prevailing cultural attitudes or psychological needs. This has been too often the path taken by the deterministic approach and in its circularity it tells us nothing about either the literary work or the culture (p. 26).

It is my sincere hope that this paper has contributed to the beginning of debate on these important issues.

NOTES

1 See, for example, Apple's (1979b) discussion of some of the difficulties involved with correspondence theories. For more general comment and discussion of Bowles and Gintis' seminal work see Cohen and Rosenberg (1977). See also Willis' (1977) ethnographic study which challenges many of the important assumptions of correspondence theories.

2 For an excellent overview of this literature see, MacDonald (1977).

3 For content analyses of the stereotyping of Blacks in textbooks see, for example, studies by The California Department of Education (1964), Krug (1970) and the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977). On Native American stereotyping in textbooks see, for example, the American Indian Historical Society (1970), Swanson (1977) and the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977). On the textbook treatment of women see, for example, Burstyn and Corrigian (1975), the Women on Words and Images (1972) and the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977). For analysis of the textbook treatment of labor and labor relations see, for example, Donnally (1938), Hogeboom (1975) and especially Anyon (1979). The latter also includes an important discussion of the manner in which economics information is presented in social studies texts.

4 For content analyses of the stereotyping of Blacks in children's literature (tradebooks) see, for example, Baker (1975) and especially Broderick (1973). On Native Americans see, for example, Byler (1974), Herbst (1975) and Troy (1975). On the stereotyping of women in children's literature see, for example, Nilsen (1971), Stewig and Knipel (1975) and Weitzman et.al. (1972). For an excellent overview of how a variety of British and American tradebook fiction deal with the issues of race, gender and class see Dixon (1977a, 1977b).

5 Groups like the Council on Interracial Books for Children have claimed that the omission of the culture and history of groups like women and Blacks from instructional materials constitutes a form of censorship which they label "covert censorship." For more on this and the censorship controversies surrounding instructional materials alleged to be racist and or sexist see Taxel (1978/79).

6 According to Collier (1976), the Whig historians conceived of the Revolution as:

> A spontaneous and universal uprising of the colonial yeomanry.... [who] had taken up the cause of traditional English liberty in a struggle against the regressive policies of a tyrannical king.... The Whig picture was moralistic and pedantic, depicting simple, freedom-loving farmers marching in a crusade to fulfill God's plan for a rationally ordered society based on the principles of liberty and equality (p. 33).

7 Kammen's (1978) found that authors of "adult" fiction written about the Revolution showed interest in such questions as class conflict and mobility although they came out on different sides when discussing these matters (p. 167).

8 The periods into which this sample was divided are: Period I (1899-1930); Period II (1937-1953); Period III (1959-1961) and Period IV (1967-1976).

9 See, for example, the books by Beers, (1953), Caudill, (1949), and Kjelgaard, (1943).

10 Both the Progressive and Revisionist historians emphasized the role which economic factors played in bringing about the Revolution. See, for example, Ernst (1976), Hoerder (1969), and Lemisch (1969).

11 This aspect of Wright's analysis was modeled after Levi-Strauss' (1966,1967) study of the structure of primitive mythology.

12 Wright modeled this aspect of his analysis after Propp's (1968) study of Russian folklore.

13 For example, Patty Abbott in Continental Dollar (Knipe & Knipe, 1923), Emmy Drake in Treason at the Point (Nolan, 1944), Hal and Squire Stonebridge in The Green Cockade (Allen, 1942), Rab Silesbee in Johnny Tremain, (Forbes, 1943) and Bill Barlow in Battle Lanterns (Allen, 1949) are all good, staunchly idealistic patriots.

14 For example, Patty Abbott in Continental Dollar is opposed by her scheming Aunt Augusta who is a Tory. The Stonebridge's in The Green Cockade are opposed by Ike Javers, while Hubert Gort is the good Tory. Mr. Lyte is the materialistic Tory in Johnny Tremain while the evil Mr. Graves schemes and plots against both Bill Barlow, the idealistic Patriot, and Mr. Stewart, the idealistic Tory, in Battle Lanterns. One of the best examples of the good/bad opposition in its idealistic/materialistic coding is to be found in the opposition of captain Andre to Benedict Arnold in Treason at the Point. The treacherous Arnold is shown to commit treason in order to enrich himself while Andre, despite being convicted as a British spy, is seen as good because of his loyalty and devotion (i.e., his idealism) to the Crown.

15 Wright (1975) observed that the good/bad opposition, which in the Classical Western separates the heroes from the villians "is almost always coded in economic terms.... The good/bad distinction does not separate people by their success at making money but rather their motivations for trying to make money (pp. 139-140, emphases in original).

16 Mr. Graves, Battle Lanterns, is an archetypal example of the vicious, scheming, materialistically motivated Tory. Working for the good, idealistic Tory Mr. Stewart, he betrays all those who oppose him in his attempt to obtain Bill Barlow's hidden fortune. Graves is even shown to kick a woman in the face, an act without precedent in the sample.

Clowes is the villain in Ford's Janice Meredith (1899) and he utilizes his position as a quartermaster in the British army to amass a fortune. At one point he gloats that part of his fortune is the result of his having shipped "niggers, who think they're escaping to freedom, to the West Indies and selling them to planters" (p. 432).

17 Interestingly, the idealistic, "good" Tories are usually presented as weak and thus do little harm. The "bad," materialistic Tories are strong and are therefore especially dangerous.

18 Eagleton (1976) suggests that an important component of literary form consists of a "specific set of relations been author and audience" (p. 26). This is one possible explanation of the fact that adult books written about the Revolution differ in important respects from the children's novels. See again, footnote 7.

19 The sample is full of statements which herald the protagonist's rite of passage. For example:

> It brought him something which he had never had before and which up to that moment, he was not even aware lacked. And that was independence based upon a respect for his own abilities.
>
> Peter Treegate, one time Boston apprentice, who had fled in panic from a dead man and his own wild fears, was not a child any longer. He was a boy developing to manhood. (Wibberly, 1959, pp. 144-145).

> As I walked across the common in the darkness my thoughts went back to my first awareness of a difference, a breaking away from the past into a future that became alive, self-shaping, apart--or so it seemed--from our own will. I was also bidding childhood farewell, an action not singular and definitive, but repeated many times until the nostalgia so thin that it is meaningless (Fast, 1961, p. 191).

> Ever since I had got the wagon home by myself I hadn't felt like a boy anymore. You don't think that things really happen overnight, but this one did. Of course I was dead tired when I got home that night, and Mother let me sleep late in the morning. And when I woke up I was different . . . I didn't wait for Mother to tell me what to do: I brought up the subject myself . . . We discussed it all, and about halfway through the breakfast I began to realize that I had changed. I wasn't acting like my usual self, I was acting more like a grownup. You couldn't say that I was really an adult, but I wasn't a child anymore, that was certain (Collier & Collier, 1974, pp. 154-155).

20 Kammen (1978) found that adult fiction written about the Revolution is also structured as a rite of passage.

21 These variations have been termed the "fence-sitting" and the "conversion" variations.

22 Novels like Finlayson's Rebecca's War (1973) and Cavanna's, Ruffles and Drums (1974) contain very little discussion of the issues in the Revolution and instead focus on the psychological growth and development of their protagonists.

23 John Treegate is a Tory but is good because he is idealistic (e.g., he is a Tory because of his loyalty to the King. He is, however, weak, the first father to be so depicted.

24 Kammen (1978) found the ideological division between fathers and sons to be a common characteristic of Revolutionary war fiction written for adults.

[25] See, for example, Ernst's (1976) discussion of the economic background of the Revolution.

[26] Anyon (1979) makes a similar case in her content analysis of how recent social studies textbooks present information about economics.

[27] See, for example, Hawthorne's, Rising Thunder (1937), Cormack & Alexander's, Land For My Sons (1939), Allen's, The Green Cockade (1942), Beer's, The Crystal Cornerstone (1953) as well as those discussed in the body of this paper.

[28] Shane, Duel in the Sun and The Far Country are examples of the Classical Western.

[29] On this see, for example, Watt (1947), Williams (1961, especially pp. 276-316) and Eagleton (1976).

[30] Despite this note of optimism it should be noted that Edwards', When the World's On Fire has gone out of print.

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Appendix A

Books Used in This Study

	Author	Title	Publisher	Date	Recommended By
Period I					
	Ford, P. L.	Janice Meredith	Dodd, Mead & Co.	1899	Wilson, 1930, 1936.
	Altsheler, J.	The Scouts of the Valley	Appleton-Century Crofts	1911	Wilson, 1936.
	Knipe, E. B. & Knipe, A. A.	A Continental Dollar	The Century Co.	1923	Wilson, 1936.
	Boyd, J.	Drums	Charles Scribner's Sons	1925	Wilson, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961, Junior High School Library Collection.
	Skinner, C. L.	Silent Scot, Frontier Scout	MacMillan	1925	Wilson, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1951, 1956.
	Perkins, L. F.	American Twins of the Revolution	Houghton-Mifflin	1926	Wilson 1930, 1936, 1941.
	Crownfield, G.	Freedom's Daughter	E. P. Dutton	1930	Wilson, 1936, 1941, 1946.
	Gray, E.	Meggy MacIntosh	Viking	1930	Wilson, 1936, 1941, 1956, 1951, 1956, 1961.
Period II					
	Hawthorne, H.	Rising Thunder	Longmans, Green, & Co.	1937	Wilson, 1941.
	Singmaster, E.	Rifles for Washington	Houghton-Mifflin	1938	Wilson, 1941, 1946, 1951.
	Cormack, M. & Alexander, W.	Land for My Sons	D. Appleton-Century Co.	1939	Wilson, 1941.

Allen, M. P.	Green Cockade	Longmans, Green & Co.	1942	Wilson, 1946, 1951.
Forbes, E.	Johnny Tremain	Dell	1943	Wilson, 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961; Arbuthnot & Sutherland; Brodart & Haviland & many others.
Kjelgaard, J.	Rebel Siege	Random House	1943	Wilson, 1946, 1956, 1961; Sutherland.
Edmonds, W. D.	Wilderness Clearing	Dodd, Mead, & Co.	1944	Wilson, 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961.
Meadowcroft, E.	Silver for General Washington	Thomas Crowell	1944	Wilson, 1956, 1961; Sutherland.
Nolan, J. C.	Treason at the Point	Julian Messner Inc.	1944	Wilson, 1946, 1951.
Allen, M. P.	Battle Lanterns	Longman's Green & Co.	1949	Wilson, 1951, 1956, 1961.
Caudill, R.	Tree of Freedom	Viking	1949	Arbuthnot & Sutherland; Haviland; Huck; Mathes, Root, Lickteig.
Beers, L.	The Crystal Cornerstone	Harper & Row	1953	Wilson, 1956, 1961; Sutherland.
Lawson, R.	Mr. Revere & I	Dell	1953	Wilson, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976; Sutherland, Brodart, G.B.F.C.
Period III				
Wibberly, L.	Peter Treegates Musket	Ariel Books	1959	Wilson, 1960; Arbuthnot & Sutherland; Huck; Sebesta; Sutherland.
Fast, H.	April Morning	Bantam Books	1961	Junior High School Library Collection; Palmer; Sutherland.

Period IV

Savery, C.	The Reb & the Redcoats	Longmans, Green & Co.	1961	Wilson, 1966, 1971, 1976.
Fritz, J.	Early Thunder	Coward, McCann & Geoghegan	1967	Bro-dart; Arbuthnot & Sutherland; Haviland; Huck; Sutherland.
Finlayson, A.	Redcoat in Boston	Frederick Warne & Co.	1971	Bro-dart; Huck.
Finlayson, A.	Rebecca's War	Frederick Warne & Co.	1972	Wilson, 1976; Bro-dart; Huck.
Edwards, S.	When the World's On Fire	Coward, McCann & Geoghegan	1973	Wilson, 1976; Bro-dart.
Collier, J. L. & Collier C.	My Brother Sam Is Dead	Scholastic Book Co.	1974	Wilson, 1976, Bro-dart, Huck.
Cavanna, B.	Ruffles & Drums	William Morrow & Co.	1975	Bro-dart, Eakin.
Beatty, J., & Beatty, P.	Who Comes to Kings Mountain?	William Morrow & Co.	1975	Wilson, 1956, Bro-dart.
Snow, R	Freelon Starbird	Houghton Mifflin	1976	Bro-dart.

Books Utilized in the Selection of the Sample

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